

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 120673 TOSEC 010256

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: NATO SUMMIT DECLARATION
(S/S 7510596)

REF: USNATO 2857

TO THE SECRETARY THROUGH SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN FROM
ARMITAGE

1. AFTER AN EXTENDED DRAFTING SESSION, NATO'S SENIOR
POLITICAL COMMITTEE HAS DEVELOPED A SINGLE, UNBRACKETED
DRAFT SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE. THE DRAFT IS AN AMALGAMATION
OF THE EARLIER UK (WHICH WAS LARGELY US IN ORIGIN) AND
BELGIAN VERSIONS. IT WILL NOW BE REFERRED BACK TO
CAPITALS FOR COMMENTS ON THE BASIS OF WHICH THE SENIOR
POLITICAL COMMITTEE WILL RESUME WORK FRIDAY AFTERNOON,
MAY 23.

2. SUBSTANTIVELY, THE LATEST DRAFT HAS A NUMBER OF
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DRAWBACKS. IT IS NOT AS EXPLICIT AS THE ORIGINAL UK-US

VERSION IN IDENTIFYING PROBLEMS OR IN EXPRESSING A DETERMINATION ON THE PART OF THE ALLIANCE TO SOLVE THOSE PROBLEMS. A GOOD EXAMPLE IS THE STUBBORN UNWILLINGNESS OF GREECE AND TURKEY TO ALLOW THE COMMUNIQUE TO IDENTIFY "DISPUTES" BETWEEN MEMBERS AS ONE OF THE DIFFICULTIES IN THE ALLIANCE WHICH REQUIRES SOLUTION. NEVERTHELESS, THE LATEST VERSION DOES PICK UP MOST OF THE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES WHICH WE SOUGHT TO DEAL WITH IN OUR ORIGINAL DRAFT.

3. SPECIFICALLY, THE NEW DRAFT DOES JUSTICE TO THE FOLLOWING SUBSTANTIVE POINTS WE COVERED IN OUR PREFERRED VERSION:

A. REAFFIRMS THE ALLIANCE'S ESSENTIAL PURPOSE TO SAFEGUARD INDEPENDENCE AND SECURITY;

B. IDENTIFIES WARSAW PACT STRENGTH AS A SERIOUS CHALLENGE;

C. IDENTIFIES THE EFFECT OF ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ON DEFENSE EFFORTS, AND RESOLVES TO FACE THAT CHALLENGE;

D. REAFFIRMS NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY AND ESPECIALLY ARTICLE V;

E. STRONG DEFENSE IS THE BASIS FOR PURSUIT OF DETENTE;

F. CSCE'S PROMISES SHOULD BE TRANSLATED INTO DEEDS.

4. THE FOLLOWING POINTS ARE DEALT WITH LESS WELL BY THE NEW DRAFT:

A. ALLIES SHOULD SETTLE THEIR DIFFERENCES;

B. MBFR NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD MOVE ALONG;

C. THE NEED TO COOPERATE ON PROBLEMS OF FOOD, ENERGY, POPULATION AND ENVIRONMENT.

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5. THE NEW DRAFT EXCLUDES:

A. CATALOGUE OF ALLIANCE'S EXPLICIT ACHIEVEMENTS OVER 26 YEARS;

LISTING OF CHALLENGES TO THE ALLIANCE (SUCH AS ENERGY AND SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES AMONG MEMBERS);

C. IDENTIFICATION OF "GREATER FREEDOM, PROSPERITY,

DIGNITY AND SECURITY" AS OBJECTIVE TO BE SOUGHT IN
TRANSLATING CSCE'S WORDS INTO DEEDS.

6. IN TONE, THE NEW DRAFT FALLS SHORT OF THE PUNCH WE
HAVE BEEN AIMING FOR. STILL, THE NEW DRAFT IS A GREAT
DEAL BETTER THAN THE AVERAGE NATO COMMUNIQUE.

7. TACTICALLY, WE ARE IN A TRICKY POSITION. ONLY THE
UK SEEMS WHOLEHEARTEDLY TO SUPPORT US IN WANTING A
COMMUNIQUE WHICH IS EXPLICIT AND FORCEFUL. THE OTHER
ALLIES ARE CONTENT TO GO ALONG WITH GENERAL RHETORIC
AND SEEM ALMOST EMBARRASSED BY EFFORTS ON OUR PART TO
IDENTIFY PROBLEMS. WE ARE THUS LARGELY IN THE POSITION
OF DEMANDEUR. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS NEW VERSION IS CLOSE
TO THE BEST WE WILL GET. ASSUMING THAT WE CAN LIVE WITH
IT, WITH MODIFICATIONS, OUR BEST TACTIC ON FRIDAY WILL
BE TO:

-- SUGGEST RELUCTANTLY THAT WE ARE WILLING TO WORK ON THE
BASIS OF THE NEW DRAFT;

-- IF IT APPEARS THAT OTHER DELEGATIONS WISH TO AMEND
THE NEW DRAFT EXTENSIVELY, BE PREPARED TO DO THE SAME
TO PROTECT OUR POSITION.

8. THE ALTERNATIVE TO THIS APPROACH WOULD BE TO INSIST
ON A VERSION MUCH CLOSER TO THE IS DRAFT AND TO BE
PREPARED TO PROLONG THE NEGOTIATIONS MUCH CLOSER TO THE
SUMMIT IN HOPES OF GAINING A BETTER DRAFTED AND TOUGHER
COMMUNIQUE.

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9. RECOMMENDATION: THAT YOU AUTHORIZE THE ATTACHED
TELEGRAM OF INSTRUCTIONS TO USNATO WHICH PROPOSES A
NUMBER OF CHANGES IN THE NEW DRAFT, SUGGESTS TACTICS TO
FOLLOW AND TELLS THE MISSION THAT THE NEW DRAFT COMES
CLOSE TO OUR NEEDS.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE.

PREFER TO SEEK MORE EXTENSIVE SUBSTANTIVE AND RHETORICAL
CHANGES.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE.

BEGIN TEXT OF TELEGRAM:

1. IN OUR VIEW, THE NEW DRAFT COMMUNIQUE IS A
CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENT OVER THE BELGIAN VERSION,
ALTHOUGH IT FALLS SHORT OF THE KIND OF PUBLICLY COMPELLING

STATEMENT WHICH WE FEEL SHOULD BE ISSUED AT A NATO
SUMMIT.

2. ACCORDINGLY, YOU SHOULD MAKE STRONG EFFORT AT MAY 23
SPC SESSION TO SHARPEN LANGUAGE OF DRAFT COMMUNIQUE.
YOU SHOULD DO SO ON BASIS OF NEW DRAFT, IF ALL OTHER
ALLIES ARE WILLING TO WORK ON THAT BASIS.

3. ON SUBSTANCE, YOU SHOULD PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING
CHANGES IN THE LATEST DRAFT:

-- THERE SHOULD BE SOME REFERENCE TO DISPUTES BETWEEN
MEMBERS. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE BE CANDID WITH PUBLIC
OPINION IN ACKNOWLEDGING PROBLEMS OF THE ALLIANCE IN THAT
REGARD. ARTICLE I OF NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY, AFTER ALL,
REQUIRES SIGNATORIES TO SETTLE THEIR DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL
MEANS. MOREOVER, MINISTERIAL DECLARATION LAST DECEMBER
(PARA 9) ACKNOWLEDGED EXISTENCE OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
GREECE AND TURKEY.

-- REFERENCE TO MBFR SHOULD BE EXPLICIT. WE APPRECIATE
VALUE OF HAVING FRENCH ON BOARD. HOWEVER, FAILURE TO
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IDENTIFY MBFR COULD SUGGEST THAT ALLIES ARE LOSING
INTEREST.

-- "GREATER FREEDOM...SECURITY" SHOULD BE IDENTIFIED AS
OBJECTIVE TO BE SOUGHT IN TRANSLATING CSCE WORDS INTO
DEEDS. THESE WOULD RESULT FROM FREER MOVEMENT, WHICH IS
AN ALLIED INITIATIVE TO WHICH PUBLIC OPINION IN VARIOUS
WESTERN COUNTRIES ATTACHES SPECIAL IMPORTANCE.

4. FOR TACTICAL PURPOSES, YOU MAY WISH TO IDENTIFY
OTHER DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LATEST DRAFT AND UK DRAFT,
EVEN ORIGINAL IS DRAFT, PROPOSING AMENDMENTS AS NEEDED
TO COUNTER CHANGES WHICH OTHER ALLIES INEVITABLY WILL
BE SUGGESTING AS THEY RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS FROM THEIR
GOVERNMENTS.

5. FYI: WITH SOME MODIFICATION, WE BELIEVE LATEST
VERSION COMES CLOSE TO MEETING US REQUIREMENTS. END FYI.

-- CLEARED IN C BY MR. DOBBINS. INGERSOLL

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